/96 cont'd/
587 he could rely on, came to abduct the newly married widow in broad
583 daylight. It is probable that she consented to being abducted; for living with her new husband for a month, she had been able to judge him. It is equally probable that the go-betweens and the former parents-in-law of the widow were in on it; perhaps the neighbors who did not sympathize with Tchao were not strangers to it either, for they did not budge when the people came to abduct the widow.
[672] Tchao goes to the Chinese city to bring suit. The Chinese judgment was the following: The widow must be sent back to her parents' home and neither Tchao nor Tchang may marry her.

According to T'ou-jen custom, the woman would have had to stay with Tchang, and Tchao by reason of not having paid the agreed-upon sum in time lost entirely all right over the widow.

7. Vestiges of Marriage by Abduction among the T'ou-jen

587 One can conclude from the preceding that nowadays the pur-
671 chase of the wife by the husband is the legal form of marriage, while
582 also recognizing as legal the abduction of a widow, on condition that the owners be indemnified.

583 One can believe that formerly the custom of abduction must have been general and that it was practiced for marriages of girls. Indeed, numerous vestiges of abduction are found in the customs surrounding the marriage of girls. When the son-in-law with his companions comes to get the bride, why does he find the door of the house shut? Why is it necessary to end up by breaking it in and receiving an avalanche of water on the head? This certainly is an assault on the girl's dwelling. When they sing at the door and ask that it be opened, one feels that this way is not natural and that in addition there is no sense to it. Besides, the song has nothing in it that is prescribed, when everything else in the customs is clearly fixed, even the speeches that are made. Why this thick veil /97/ which envelops the bride's head and which does not allow her to see; it is even tied around the neck with a red cord. Is it not to bandage the eyes of a person who is being abducted? At the moment of carrying the bride outside, why this abruptness, the door of the room which

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586 and will if need be help her in the task. Thus the wife maintains face; she will be able to say that she did not want her husband any more, and he will not have any difficulties with his wife's family either, since it is the daughter who wanted to go away. In the end, the husband will even profit greatly by the sale of his wife. On the other hand, if the wife insists on not wanting to look for another match, the husband will be patient and will not resort to repudiation except as a last extreme. That is the ordinary course of the preambles to divorce.

/136/ 2. Causes of Divorce

593, The causes of divorce appear to be more or less numerous.
586 The primary and most ordinary cause is certainly interest in another person, which brings on mutual and daily increasing aversion between the husband and wife. A wife can fall and that is understood; the husband will even allow his wife not to come home at night from time to time, for he himself does not come home regularly every evening, either. Grounds for divorce require regular and therefore public relations.

626 Do not think, however, that husbands give complete freedom
837 to their wives; do not believe that all husbands are indifferent to
539 these things. They tell about a good many cases in which the wife and her lover, having been surprised at night, were tied together or tied to a stake, beaten, etc., by the heads of the village with whom
837 the husband had lodged a complaint. The families of the guilty ones
672 were called, they had to act as guarantors for their members; then the guilty man had to offer his apologies to the injured husband and give him a pig, a sheep, etc. The level of morality among the T'ou-jen has not yet fallen so low that they no longer know their duties and rights in these matters. So it is not rare to see a husband beat his wife and to hear the wife, on her knees, beg her husband, "Big brother, pardon me this time; big brother, treat me with indulgence this time, that won't happen any more." Now one does not ask pardon and one does not allow oneself to be beaten when one's conscience is clear.

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586 that marriage is not a commonplace act in a man's life, that it is not an affair of a few days or years, or that it is an act depending on the whims and passions of a moment. In order to understand this way of thinking one must take the facts as a whole. I think many authors speak too lightly of this question in ethnographies.

B. Repudiation

What we have called divorce is the sale of the wife by the husband, but with her consent and after she has found someone of her choice to marry.

Repudiation occurs when the husband no longer wants anything to do with his wife, so that he sends her back to her parents or her brothers or sells her in spite of her wishes. Repudiation rarely occurs; it is always very discreditable for the family as well as for the wife herself.

First the wife's parents see the material side in repudiation. Who will maintain the woman henceforward? The brothers and the sisters-in-law on their part are scarcely delighted with such a present; and then who else will want this unfortunate woman? The woman understands better than anybody her situation and her future, so she will insinuate through a third person that there is nothing left for her but suicide. Terrible weapon, which will make the husband stop and think.

586 When repudiation is decided upon, the family of the repudiated
672 wife begins by demanding a large indemnity from their daughter's husband for the dishonor he does them, then a sum for the support of the woman. If need be, the whole family, /141/ men and women, will go and settle down at the husband's home to make an uproar for several days; or they will forcibly take away his livestock, etc. If the husband risks daring to sell the wife against her wishes, he will find it difficult to find someone to whom to sell her; the purchaser will also be afraid of reprisals from the woman's family. It is not easy to find people willing to write these contracts for an insignificant

M /141 cont'd/
586 sum or to find signers and go-betweens, for nobody wants to expose
672 himself to the vengeance of the family of the repudiated wife. I knew a case where all was ready for the repudiation of a woman who was claimed to be badly formed physically. Since the family was
M rich, it was on the point of turning up its nose at all threats. At the
[762] last moment it changed its mind when it learned that the wife had just procured opium to end her life.

M Thus those who do not fear exposing themselves to such troubles
586 will repudiate their wives. Fortunately, these people are extremely
432 rare.

It must therefore be admitted that in this respect the T'ou-jen have not undergone the pernicious influence of their neighbors and masters, the Chinese, among whom repudiation and the sale of the wife often occur in normal times. One will never see T'ou-jen women sold in great numbers in time of famine as is seen in China even today. One will not meet T'ou-jen who will take a mortage on their wives, as I have seen happen twice among the Chinese. One will never see the T'ou-jen put a woman on the mountain of filial piety as I once saw done. Although with them the wife must work very hard, she is more highly esteemed and respected than in China.

M If, however, repudiation does take place, they begin by getting
586 go-betweens, who will go to consult with the wife's family. When the discussions have reached an end and the money demanded has been promised, the contract is written and signed as for divorce. The go-between, after bringing the promised sum to the family of the
M repudiated woman, /142/ will go to get the latter and present her to
[858] her parents. The children in this case stay with the husband's family. (1)

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1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 313: (Mongols.) Divorce is very frequent; the least dissatisfaction on one side or the other is enough to have it declared. If the husband wants to be separated from his wife without a

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The groups join each other on the way. Friendly and high-spirited, they start early in the morning, with banners, drum, and cymbals in the lead. The sedan chairs are put in a row at the foot of the high hill of the temple of the god Erh-lang. The stalwart fellows, with clubs clenched in their fists, are guards of honor of the goddesses, who stay next to their respective sedan chairs, waiting to climb the hill. The tradition runs that the crops of the village whose goddess first reaches the temple will be infallibly and positively protected against hail and prodigiously blessed. As soon as the cry for departure is howled out, the thirteen groups feverishly run to the top of the hill with their goddesses, howling, cursing, cutting their way, thrusting at one another, climbing by fits and starts, falling, leaping, jumping like savages, foaming at the mouth. The chair of the goddess who makes the mark is placed nearest the throne of the god. The door of the temple is closed. The fellows take their meal and rest in the side rooms of the temple.

They return home the next day. On the way back the villagers stand waiting on the road in order to learn whether their goddess won the race or not. On the trip to the temple the fellows were friendly to one another; on the return, however, the groups are excited, angry and seething with jealousy and frequently have a serious fight with clubs. In 1913 the sedan chair of the victorious goddess of the village of Wu-ch'i was smashed, but according to custom no suits are allowed for smashed heads, broken noses, bleeding faces, and torn clothes. After the famous expedition, the villages start their rites against hail in the village.

The aim of the pilgrimage of the goddesses to the temple of the god Erh-lang is to obtain his protection from hail and special blessings upon the crops of the village. They are dressed in full attire and decked out in jewels. What is the reason for sending goddesses to call on the god Erh-lang and to try and court his favors? Why is the call not made to another god such as the god of the Five Roads, the recognized protector from hail?

All over the country, Erh-lang is said to be the god of the River of Hsining, whose course he ordered, and to be interested in preserving the country from hail. He is said to have opened the rocks of Hsiao hsia (the

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celebrated sacred spring. They carry with them the statue of the god of the rain (the dragon king) from their village temple and put it in the cave, next to that of the goddess, for a whole night, in order that the goddess may sooth the ruffled feathers of the angered dragon king, and move him to pour down streams of rain to save the dying crops. Potanin, who traveled in Kansu in 1884–1886 [*Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina, tsentral'naya Mongoliya*, 334, 1893], notes a similar practice among the Monguors of San ch'uan, subjects of the Hsia-wu T'u-ssu, in order to obtain rain. Potanin, *ibid.*, 409, also notes the struggle against hail practiced among those Monguors by their shamans, but because his description fails to point to the building of mounds, the white tiger, Wu-tao-shen, etc., he seems not to have understood the core of the rites. (I am indebted to Father J. Spriet for the translation of these passages.)

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